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The Impact of Juvenile Court Sanctions:
A Court That Works

BY JAMES AUSTIN, Ph.D.; KAREN JOE; BARRY KRISBERG, Ph.D.; AND PATRICIA A. STEELE

HIGHLIGHTS

Grave doubts are often expressed about the efficacy of juvenile court sanctions. In particular, concepts such as individualized treatment and rehabilitation, cornerstones of the juvenile court's philosophy, are under attack from liberal and conservative critics. The juvenile court is accused of being too lenient with serious offenders and too punitive with minor ones. Calls for major reforms are being heard in legislatures throughout the nation.

This questioning of the juvenile court's basic philosophy coincides with the severe fiscal pressures known to all juvenile justice agencies. In turn, increasing demands are placed on juvenile courts to accomplish goals commensurate with public revenue investments. Although a wealth of studies on the juvenile court exist, few have looked at the impact of court sanctions on delinquent and adult criminal careers, providing no answers to mounting challenges to the juvenile court.

The Second District Juvenile Court of Utah, serving the Salt Lake City area with 700,000 residents, was selected as a research site to assess the impact of various juvenile court interventions on serious juvenile offenders. Salt Lake City has experienced many of the pressures felt by other urban centers. For example, in 1985, when the NCCD evaluation was underway, the city's Part I[1] crime rate was 6,425 per 100,000 – a rate higher than Boston, Philadelphia or San Francisco.

In response to the increased crime rate, Utah developed a wide range of intervention strategies for delinquent youths. Sanctions available through the District Court include informal probation, fines and restitution, and formal probation. Placement with the Department of Youth Corrections is another available option, but the state has made a conscious effort to reduce the number of beds in secure facilities. Since 1980 such bedspace has been reduced from 350 to 60. A number of community-based programs also have been developed. (See Exhibit A).

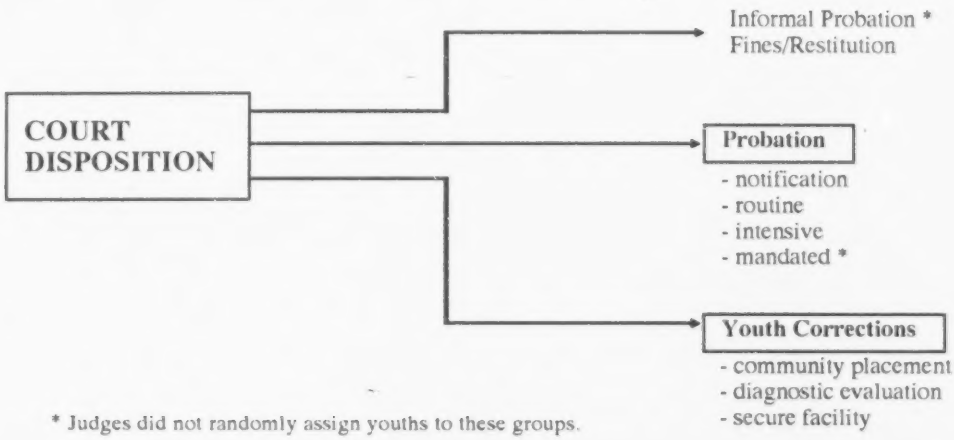
Thus, the NCCD study tested the effects of several court interventions during an 18-month period beginning in 1983. In order to evaluate the impact of the most frequently used court disposition, probation, a classic experimental design involving random assignment to three types of probation was utilized. In addition, NCCD studied the impact of three Youth Corrections sanctions: 1) short-term confinement, 2) long-term secure confinement, and 3) community-based placements. Finally, a risk assessment instrument was developed to aid the court in assigning youths to various kinds of probation supervision.

Data on the effectiveness of juvenile court interventions were gathered primarily from four sources: court intake records, youth questionnaires, bi-monthly supervision/service reports from youth workers and official data on court referrals.

The findings of the study include:

- The vast majority (53 percent to 81 percent) of all youths involved in the study were rearrested at least once during the follow-up period;
- Although rearrest rates declined for probationers generally, there were essentially no differences in the frequency or timing of rearrest across the three randomly assigned probation groups;
- Although a large proportion of the Youth Corrections offenders continued to be arrested, there were large declines in the rate of offending for all three Youth Corrections dispositional categories;
- The recidivism data for Youth Corrections offenders strongly indicate that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders does not compromise public protection;
- The evidence suggests that short periods of confinement may be as effective as long periods of confinement; and

Exhibit A: Utah Second District Court Disposition Options



* Judges did not randomly assign youths to these groups.

- Risk-assessment analysis conducted in this study suggests that probationers do reflect varying risk levels in terms of future recidivism. These varying risk levels can be identified and should be accounted for in deciding which offender should receive the more intensive forms of probation intervention.

THE COURT

The subjects of this study were the most serious juvenile offenders processed through Utah's Second District Juvenile Court. Attention focused on the youths at the point of their disposition, particularly those placed on probation or committed to the Utah Division of Youth Corrections. The youths included in this study represent only 11 percent of all referrals to the Second District Court. Yet, this caseload exerts a vastly disproportionate claim on judicial and correctional resources.

At the time the NCCD study began, the Court had established a policy of diversion of minor offenders and status offenders to informal probation, and the use of fines and restitution to handle less serious offenders. Probation was reserved for those youths involved in serious property crimes.

Youth Corrections placements were reserved for youths with extensive criminal histories of repetitive and serious property crimes, numerous prior probation placements and violent behavior. In turn, these youths received much more intensive supervision and control than probationers.

The primary determinants of the Court's decision-making were the nature and seriousness of the instant offense and, especially, the extent of prior referrals. Dramatic differences were observed in prior patterns of offending among youths assigned to probation compared to those sentenced to Youth Corrections.

In addition to these legal factors, the Court identified drug abuse and severe family problems as key factors in decisions to commit youths to Youth Corrections. The majority of youths receiving probation and Youth Corrections dispositions did report drug and alcohol use and experimentation. Dispositional patterns were not related to inappropriate factors such as race or family economic status.

Court-related findings of the study include:

- Youths receiving the three major dispositions (informal probation, probation, youth corrections) varied dramatically in the nature and extent of their self-reported involvement in delinquency over the preceding 12 months. Court sanctions roughly corresponded to the nature and extent of past delinquent behavior.
- Young people committed to community-based placements within Youth Corrections were charged with less serious offenses and had fewer prior court involvements than those sent to the secure facility.
- The Court is extremely successful in its decision-making. It devotes considerable resources to thorough intake screening and regularly collects extensive client data prior to court decisions. The Court benefits from a sophisticated automated information system that allows easy access to the complete criminal histories of each offender.

Table 1: Percentage of Youth Rearrested After Adjudication

Item	PROBATION Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	YOUTH CORRECTIONS Diagnostic (N=113)	Community (N=68)	Secure (N=66)
Time Period:						
0 - 120 days	46.0%	44.6%	46.3%	49.6%	55.9%	63.6%
0 - 183 days	55.6%	53.7%	59.0%	60.2%	67.6%	68.2%
0 - 365 days	66.1%	70.2%	70.9%	69.9%	76.5%	78.8%
Average Number of Days to First Arrest:	116.6	114.4	110.9	121.1	116.8	90.1
Number of Arrests:						
0 None	33.9%	29.8%	29.1%	30.1%	23.5%	21.2%
1 Arrest	13.7%	10.7%	17.9%	21.2%	27.9%	18.2%
2 Arrests	13.7%	13.2%	07.5%	17.7%	13.2%	21.2%
3 Arrests	08.1%	09.1%	10.4%	13.3%	08.8%	12.1%
4 Arrests	04.8%	10.7%	06.7%	07.1%	11.8%	12.1%
5+ Arrests	25.8%	26.7%	28.4%	10.6%	14.8%	15.2%
Average Arrests over 12 Months	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.5

- On the average, youths in all groups positively evaluated their treatment by the Second District Court. Youths believed that the Court adequately protected their legal rights and that Court workers were genuinely concerned for their well-being.
- Despite large differences in offenses and prior court contacts, the offenders shared similar perceptions of the likelihood of future apprehension and the severity of punishment for a variety of offenses.
- The Court received a favorable rating from youths sanctioned by the court, possibly attributable to the high caliber and extensive professional backgrounds of the judges appointed to the Court.

PROBATION AND YOUTH CORRECTIONS INTERVENTIONS

The experimental component of the study was designed to measure the effectiveness of probation intervention. Three factors – differing levels of probation supervision, the provision of treatment services and differing types of agencies providing treatment services – were crucial elements of the experimental design.

During the study period, the Second District Court judges agreed to permit virtually all youths eligible for probation to be randomly placed into one of three probation models: (1) notification (no contacts), (2) routine supervision, and (3) intensive probation supervision and treatment.[2]

- The notification group consisted of youths placed on probation who were to receive no supervision or services from the juvenile court. Probation officers could modify this program if the youth was rearrested.
- Youths in the routine supervision group were expected to receive a level of supervision commensurate with the norm of most probation departments. Clients requesting treatment services were referred to agencies other than the probation department for these services. There was also a minimum requirement of two face-to-face supervision contacts per month. Probation officers were allowed to modify this probation program but only after the first 90 days.
- The intensive supervision group was to receive a minimum of one face-to-face contact and one phone contact per week plus discretionary use of treatment services. Unlike the routine condition, probation officers provided both supervision and treatment services and they were permitted to alter an individual's probation program after the first 90 days if appropriate.

Overall, the data indicate that the experimental design was successfully implemented. The offenders assigned to the three groups showed

Table 2 : Percentage of Youth Rearrested After Adjudication By Type of Offense

	PROBATION			YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
	Notification (N=397)	Routine (N=588)	Intensive (N=434)	Diagnostic (N=377)	Community (N=255)	Secure (N=252)
Violent	05.5%	08.5%	08.1%	02.9%	09.4%	06.0%
Part 1 Property	43.6%	37.4%	42.4%	41.9%	46.3%	42.1%
Other Property	11.8%	14.2%	12.2%	11.9%	12.6%	15.5%
Drugs and Alcohol	11.8%	11.6%	11.3%	08.2%	10.2%	05.1%
Other	17.6%	18.8%	19.6%	28.9%	14.1%	29.3%
Status	09.6%	09.5%	06.4%	06.1%	07.4%	02.0%

no major differences in background factors or offense variables. While the levels of supervision obtained in each experimental condition were not precisely what was planned, the levels of probation supervision and treatment varied directly with the form of random assignment.

The second component of the design entailed a follow-up study of offenders committed to Youth Corrections. Whereas juveniles were randomly assigned to probation conditions, Youth Corrections placements were determined by correctional staff in consultation with the judges. The Youth Corrections disposition could be one of three types:

1. community placement in which the youth was assigned to foster care, a group home, or other community-based program;
2. diagnostic placement, a short-term secure placement for evaluation and subsequent assignment to a community-based program; or
3. placement in a secure facility for at least six months.

Upon release, youths sent to secure confinement often entered one of the community-based programs as part of their re-entry requirements.

Youth Corrections offenders, unlike probationers, possessed extensive and serious criminal histories. They received nearly twice the number of weekly face-to-face contacts as youths in the intensive probation group. Nearly 80 percent of the offenders sent to Youth Corrections received short-term residential placements. Surveillance and services provided to these youths were highly individualized and were delivered principally by private vendors under contract with the Division of Youth Corrections.

REARREST RATES

No significant variations were found among the three experimental probation groups in terms of (1) the proportion rearrested, (2) the frequency or incidence of new arrests, (3) the nature of the new offenses, or (4) the time until the first arrest. Most arrests occurred during the first 120 days after court disposition for primarily Part I property crimes. Each probation group had an average of two arrests in the 12 months following their placement on probation. Even during the first three month period – when differences among the experimental groups in terms of service and supervision were the greatest – there were no statistically significant differences in various measures of recidivism.

Youth Corrections youths varied more among groups in terms of the proportion rearrested (Table 1). Community placement and diagnostic placement youths performed similarly to the experimental probation youths and slightly better than secure facility offenders. The secure facility group had the highest proportion of youths rearrested (79 percent), the shortest period to first arrest (90 days), and the highest annual arrest rate (2.5 per year), although these differences are not very large. For these youths, a small proportion of the subsequent charges involved violent crimes (6 percent) (Table 2).

Although a large proportion of Youth Corrections offenders continued to be arrested, there were large declines in the rate of offending for all three Youth Corrections dispositional categories. The 247 Youth Corrections offenders in the NCCD study accounted for 1,765 arrests in the 12 months previous to their commitment to the Division. Once released into the community, these same youths accumulated 593 new arrests – a drop of nearly 66 percent compared to the pre-Youth Corrections period.

If one considers the total number of charges involved in these arrests, the results are even more impressive. These Youth Corrections youths were charged with 3,215 offenses in the year prior to their court adjudication as compared to 884 offenses in the post-adjudication period. It should be noted that adjustments were made for the time spent in secure facilities versus time

Table 3 : 12-Month At-Risk Time Pre- and Post-Intervention Arrests And Offenses*: The Suppression Effect **

	PROBATION			YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
	Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	Diagnostic (N=105)	Community (N=64)	Secure (N=64)
Mean Number of Arrests:						
Pre-Intervention	03.5	03.6	03.5	06.3	05.4	07.0
Post-Intervention	02.2	02.2	02.0	01.9	02.0	02.2
Difference	-01.3	-01.4	-1.5	-04.4	-03.4	-04.8
Suppression Effect	-37.1%	-39.0%	-42.8%	-69.8%	-62.9%	-68.5%
Mean Number of Offenses:						
Pre-Intervention	06.1	05.7	05.5	12.1	09.2	12.5
Post-Intervention	03.2	03.2	03.2	03.0	03.4	03.6
Difference	-02.9	-02.5	-02.3	-09.1	-05.8	-08.9
Suppression Effect	-47.5%	-43.8%	-41.8%	-75.2%	-63.0%	-71.2%

* In this analysis, the original preintervention number was used -1 (to control for instant offense).

** The Suppression Effect is the mean number of offenses postintervention (A_{po}) minus the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) divided by the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) or: $S = \frac{(A_{po} - A_{pr})}{A_{pr}}$

in community placement or diagnostic treatment. The follow-up period for secure facilities was 12 months after release. If the youth committed an offense for which he received an additional period of confinement, the follow-up period was subsequently extended. For the other two groups it was simply 12 months after the date of disposition.

OBSERVED SUPPRESSION EFFECTS

These results led us to employ an alternative and innovative measure to estimate recidivism. This measure – the suppression effect – focused not on the absolute cessation of delinquency, but rather, on the reduction in the frequency of delinquent behavior; or, the rate at which youth reoffend.[3]

Three separate analyses were completed to refine the conclusions drawn about the suppression effect. In the primary analysis, 12 month pre- and post-intervention periods were used. Table 3 shows that all groups showed some decrease in the post-intervention period. There were no major differences between the experimental probation groups. The greatest reductions occurred for the Youth Corrections groups. Overall, the Youth Corrections offenders showed a 63 to 70 percent reduction in their number of arrests.

An important observation was that of the high pre-intervention arrest rates of the Youth Corrections groups. This phenomenon helped to explain the dramatic decreases shown in the post-intervention period.

The research design did not permit precise estimates of the contributions of treatment or simple deterrence effects to the observed declining rates of offending. The observed dramatic declines are partially attributable to maturation and to a natural decline that is predictable after very high rates of offending behavior. Maturation effects and an expected statistical effect, known as regression to the mean, reduce the magnitude of the suppression effect, but do not completely account for the observed reductions in delinquency.

The recidivism data for Youth Corrections offenders strongly indicate that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders did not compromise public protection. Of course, some might assert that if

Utah securely confined all these youths instead of placing them in community-based programs, the reduction in crime would have been greater. While this argument is correct in theory, this policy would have required massive additional expenditures for capital construction and for the annual operations budget of the Division of Youth Corrections. Considering that the vast majority of subsequent offenses committed by the Youth Corrections offenders were minor property crimes, these extravagant public expenditures do not seem warranted.

The NCCD study also provided evidence that short periods of confinement were as effective as long periods of confinement. The Youth Corrections community-based programs are considerably more expensive than traditional probation, but less costly than confining youths in training schools. A recent NCCD study of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Corrections found similar results.[4]

Exhibit B : NCCD Probation Risk Instrument

Risk Score

Risk Level	N	%	0-1 Arrests	5+ Arrests
Low	102	19.1	78.4%	1.5%
Moderate	230	43.2%	44.4%	25.2%
High	201	37.7%	33.8%	36.3%
Total	**533**	**100.0%**	**46.9%**	**26.1%**

Risk Instrument Items

Items Used	Points
1. Age at first arrest	
9-12 years	2
13	1
14+	0
2. Drug or alcohol associated with offense:	
Yes	1
No	0
3. Number of offenses in last 12 months:	
1 or 2	0
3 or more	3
4. Weapon used in the offense:	
No	0
Yes	1

Risk Instrument Items

Items Used	Points
5. Father's occupation:	
Blue collar profession	2
Other	0
6. Youth's employment status:	
Full-time/Part-time	0
Unemployed	2
7. Sex	
Male	2
Female	0

Scale

Points	Supervision Level
0-6	Low
7-9	Moderate
10+	High

USING RISK ASSESSMENT TO ALLOCATE RESOURCES

The success of any correctional program can be enhanced by choosing the most appropriate offenders. In particular the use of probation can be substantially fine-tuned. Research findings from this study suggest that probationers do reflect varying risk levels in terms of future recidivism. These varying risk levels should be accounted for in deciding who should receive the more intensive forms of probation intervention. For example, one-third of the probationers were not rearrested, whereas about one-fourth were rearrested at least five times. The effectiveness of probation services would be improved if the high risk cases were properly identified and received higher levels of supervision. Lower risk cases could receive minimal probation intervention.

To facilitate improved caseload management, NCCD developed an objective risk-based instrument to better assign probationers to levels of supervision (Exhibit B). This instrument employs empirical factors that are statistically associated with probation failure. These factors were then combined in a scale to categorize individual probationers in terms of their supervision and service needs. The Second District Court data revealed that the following variables are statistically significant predictors of future recidivism among probationers:

- sex
- youth's employment status at arrest
- father's occupation
- weapon usage during the instant offense
- drug or alcohol use associated with the instant offense
- age at first court referral
- the number of offenses occurring 12 months prior to the instant offense.

The use of improved risk screening to augment probation officers' clinical judgments could result in more realistic allocation of existing probation resources (Exhibit C). The study suggested that large numbers of probationers could be managed with minimal or summary forms of supervision. This would free staff resources to concentrate very high

Exhibit C: Fiscal Implications of Extending Secure Confinement For Probationers and Community Placements

	Probation	Community Placement	Totals
A. Annual Admissions	304	76	380
B. Length of Stay	270 days	270 days	--
C. Additional Beds Required	225 beds	56 beds	281
D. Construction Costs (@ $115,885 per bed)	$26,047,125	$6,489,560	$32,563,685
E. Operating Costs (@ $115 per day)	$9,439,200	$2,359,800	$11,799,000
F. Current Costs	$820,800*	$1,128,600**	$1,949,400
G. Difference (E-F)	+$8,618,400	+$1,231,200	+$9,849,600
H. With Construction Costs (D+G)	$31,118,400	$6,831,200	$42,413,285

* @ $10 per day x 270 days
** @ $55 per day x 270 days

levels of supervision and services on high risk offenders. Further, the data on risk factors point to programmatic options that should be built into specialized caseloads for chronic offenders.[5]

Traditional juvenile probation services in the Second District were not particularly individualized. Probation staff focused upon satisfying court requirements (e.g., ensuring that restitution was paid to victims), but lacked clear guidelines on how to evaluate the progress of their clients. These findings suggest that the Court must provide greater leadership in defining the goals of probation.

The NCCD research suggests that efforts to streamline probation operations and to more efficiently utilize existing budget allocations are much needed. But, the required reforms in juvenile probation practices should follow a careful period of demonstration and field testing. While NCCD does not recommend increasing the investment in conventional probation services, it would be equally unwise to reduce current levels of funding.

A COURT THAT WORKS

This research found a court that makes appropriate sentencing decisions commensurate with the needs of the youthful offenders and concerns for public safety. More significantly, the data clearly show that youths with lengthy arrest records can be safely returned to the community after relatively short periods of confinement under a well-funded community corrections program. Although the findings with respect to probation intervention were disappointing, they must be understood in the context of the offense careers of probationers in this court. Because judges selectively use the most severe sanctions available to them, probationers often represent marginal offenders, most of whom will soon cease their delinquent activities. The more powerful and costly sanctions are reserved for the more chronic serious offenders. The Court handles them in a firm manner but remains committed to the ideal of rehabilitation.

This study provides strong evidence of the need for careful diagnosis and risk assessment and for the design of creative probation services that respond to diagnosed needs.

FOOTNOTES

1 The F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Report (UCR) defines Part I offenses as homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny-theft and arson.

2 There were two other categories of probation to which individuals were not randomly assigned - informal probation and mandated probation. Research results for these two groups are reported in the full final report.

3 Murray, Charles A. and Louis A. Cox, Jr., *Beyond Probation* (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage, 1979).

4 Krisberg, Barry, James Austin and Patricia A. Steele, "Unlocking Juvenile Corrections: Evaluating the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services" (San Francisco: NCCD, 1989).

5 As a result of the study the Second District Court has adopted the use of a risk assessment instrument and has since modified it.

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Barry Krisberg and James Austin are President and Executive Vice-President, respectively, of the NCCD; Patricia A. Steele is currently, and Karen Joe was formerly, an NCCD Research Associate. All are based at NCCD's Headquarters Office in San Francisco.

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Improving Correctional Performance Through Better Classification:

The Client Management Classification System

By Christopher Baird and Deborah Neuenfeldt

HIGHLIGHTS

Corrections' workers often adopt styles of supervision that are successful with a portion of the offender population but markedly unsuccessful with the balance. Or, they may, through trial and error, find an effective supervision strategy for individual offenders. The Client Management Classification (CMC) system provides a structured way for staff to immediately evaluate offenders and to quickly develop supervision strategies based on specific offender types.

CMC uses a structured offender interview and scoring guide to classify offenders into one of four groupings: Selective Intervention, Casework/Control, Environmental Structure and Limit Setting. Once classified, supervision and case planning guides help structure case plans and supervision strategies for each offender type. CMC training has been supported by the National Institute of Corrections at various levels since 1981 and, to date, it is estimated that over 15,000 correction professionals have been trained in the system. Currently, 75 jurisdictions and the Canadian federal correctional system have adopted CMC.

Most importantly, CMC has significantly improved the effectiveness of community supervision. Three separate evaluations conducted by different agencies examined rates of return to prison (or a similar measure) to determine CMC effectiveness. All three studies showed that use of CMC in field supervision results in significantly improved outcomes.

With its success in adult probation and parole, the CMC concept has been modified to include incarcerated adults and juvenile offenders through Strategies for Juvenile Supervision (SJS) and Prisoner Management Classification (PMC). Preliminary results show that PMC and SJS may be as successful with confined populations as CMC has been with adult probationers and parolees.

INTRODUCTION

Exhibitionists, armed robbers, burglars, murderers, marijuana users, drug pushers, wife beaters, check bouncers, prostitutes, white-collar offenders, those who fail to pay support -- are all labeled criminal. Yet they differ considerably in living stability, acceptance of criminal behavior, likelihood of re-offending, emotional needs, levels of education, work skills, honesty, and other factors. Correctional workers require both an understanding of the individual and flexibility in applying different supervisory techniques to deal effectively with this variety of people and problems.

Supervising officers need to understand offenders in order to know when to:

- confront or support,
- be directive,
- trust,
- recommend psychotherapy, and
- set rules (and which rules).

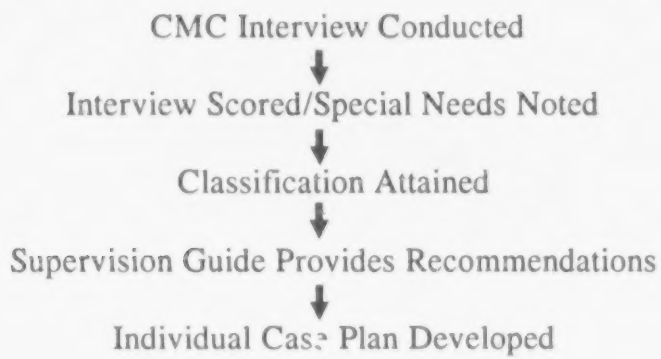
Those who rely too heavily on one method (e.g., always domineering) tend to work effectively with some offenders and not others. Staff who develop a better understanding of individuals and apply a range of supervisory techniques can be more effective with a greater variety of clients.

Other workers may, through a process of trial and error, hit upon a supervision strategy which is effective, however, this creates problems when time is limited. The first few months of supervision are critical to successful completion of probation and parole. Therefore, corrections would greatly benefit from a method that would reduce the time required to develop casework strategies.

In 1975, the Wisconsin Bureau of Community Corrections undertook an extensive evaluation of its probation and parole supervision procedures. One of the project goals was to develop a system which would provide probation and parole officers with a better method of initially evaluating offenders and developing case plans based on more effective supervision strategies. The product of this effort was the Client Management Classification (CMC) system.

The CMC system consists of a structured offender interview and scoring guide, supervision guide, and case planning guide. The score is translated into one of four offender groupings: Selective Intervention, Casework/Control, Environmental Structure and Limit Setting. Each

Figure 1: The CMC Process



offender group has a supervision guide with objective guidelines that assist officers in quickly developing case plans and in adapting supervision strategies to work more effectively with each type of offender. Figure 1 schematically illustrates the CMC process.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CMC SYSTEM

As a first step in constructing the CMC system, factors with potential for differentiating basic offender types were defined. A forced-choice rating form was developed to measure these factors, using information obtained during client interviews. Due to difficulties in achieving reliable ratings, a focused interview with scripted questions was developed to ensure that the appropriate information was obtained. Subsequently, a scoring guide was also developed to improve reliability among interviewers. Questions and items were continually revised and simplified over time to improve the flow of the interview.

The original offender groupings were defined by members of the CMC development team in Wisconsin. This group consisted of two clinical psychologists, a line officer, and research staff. After thorough evaluations, offenders were placed in one of the four casework groups based on the team's assessment of such items as the offender's needs, problems, personality and criminal style, and the recommendations the development team would have provided to officers working with those clients.

Each offender in both the construction and cross-validation samples (N=250) was then tracked for 12 months to determine if anticipated problems, attitudes and need for services did indeed surface. These data, combined with the project team's assessment of appropriate supervision strategies, resulted in the development of written supervision guidelines for each offender group. The guides briefly describe each offender group, explain behaviors and attitudes that officers may encounter, and provide practical recommendations for working with each group. Areas covered include offender goals, officer/offender relationships, appropriate auxiliary services and programs, and supervision techniques.

The final version of the classification interview consists of 45 items dealing sequentially with the offender's attitudes about the offense, offense history, family interpersonal relationships, current problems, and future plans. For each of these general areas, one or two open-ended questions are provided, followed by more specific questions designed to elicit the needed information. In addition to the interview, there are 11 objective background and offense history items, 8 behavior ratings (based on interview behavior), and 7 items calling for officers' impressions of the offender's most and least important problem areas. Scoring guidelines clarify all sections of the interview and are included at the bottom of each page for easy reference.

The final step in the CMC process is the development of individualized case plans. This process includes identifying offender strengths and weaknesses as determined by the assessment interview and classification. Identified needs are then prioritized and converted into behavioral objectives utilizing an adaptation of Dr. Todd Clear's work on objective-based case planning (undated). The case plan specifies measurable objectives and time frames for achieving them. It includes an action plan for each objective that specifies expectations for both the officer and offender. The case plan provides a document for measuring an offender's progress and becomes the focus for the dynamic process of supervision.

Since its original development in Wisconsin, two significant adaptations of CMC have evolved. One of these is a modified version of the interview and supervision guide for dealing with incarcerated adults -- Prison Management Classification (PMC). Examples of prisoner supervision strategies are included in the summaries below. Perhaps even more significant is the development of a system for juvenile offenders Strategies for Juvenile Supervision (SJS). SJS has already been implemented in three states with several others scheduled to begin implementation this year.

SUPERVISION STRATEGIES

After classification has been completed, the CMC system provides case planning and supervision strategies for each case type. Brief descriptions of the four case types and recommended supervision strategies follow.

Selective Intervention

The treatment group Selective Intervention (SI) contains two subgroups: Selective

Intervention-Situational (SI-S) and Selective Intervention-Treatment (SI-T). Though the groups share common characteristics, SI-T is differentiated by the presence of one or more of the following specific factors:

- Sexual offense history
- Serious drug or alcohol abuse
- Serious emotional disturbances
- Assaultive offense history

The SI group is characterized by a generally pro-social value structure and stable lifestyle. The offense history is usually limited, with the current offense often being the first. Criminal conduct is generally the result of an isolated stressful event (SI-S) or in response to a specific neurotic need (SI-T). As such, the criminal behavior is at variance with the individual's usual value structure and response to stress.

Under supervision, these individuals tend to present the fewest problems and require the least amount of staff contacts. These offenders tend to make good use of insight and reality-oriented counseling with the officer, and usually are found to be honest and reliable in their reporting. Caution must be observed with the SI group in that they will sometimes minimize their criminal behavior and their responsibilities under supervision.

SI-T offenders generally have the pro-social value structures and stable lives that characterize the SI group as a whole. Often, however, they present specific and chronic problems that are likely to continue without intervention and treatment. Although they are frequently able to function vocationally and interpersonally, the likelihood of continued criminal involvement is great unless treatment needs are handled appropriately.

In the institution, SI inmates may experience excessive sensitivity about their crimes and about incarceration. Depression may occur, especially during the early stages, and may include suicidal thoughts and extreme swings from self-blame to denial of all responsibility. Withdrawal and depression may be intense, often followed by equally intense attachments to other inmates. This may be the result of the SI inmate's perceived need for protection or acceptance and will often result in exploitation by the more criminally oriented or sophisticated peer.

The initial isolation of SI is often increased by the harassment of other inmates who perceive them as overly conforming and exhibiting superior attitudes toward the balance of the population. Until personal stability is restored, adjustment to the institution may be difficult and conduct problems may occur. Over time, SI inmates often adapt well to the institution setting, presenting the fewest security problems and providing a positive influence in the housing unit.

The Client Management Classification system provides a structured way for staff to immediately evaluate offenders and to quickly develop supervision strategies based on specific offender types.

Casework/Control

The Casework/Control (CC) group is characterized by chronic and generalized instability which is often the product of chaotic and abusive childhoods. In adulthood this instability may be manifested in chemical abuse, serious emotional problems, frequent changes in residence and employment, and attachment to others who are equally unstable.

Criminal behavior in the CC group seems to reflect the general lack of direction often seen in the lifestyles of these clients. Offenses range from the trivial to the serious and are frequently the result of long-term emotional and adjustment problems as well as chemical abuse. Negative self-perceptions and distorted social attitudes can also contribute to illegal or anti-social conduct. Although CC offenders often have average intelligence and possess reasonable vocational skills, success is often blocked by emotional problems, chemical abuse, self-defeating behavior, and negative interpersonal attitudes.

Generally, CC is a difficult group to supervise. Attitudes toward authority are often poor, and motivation toward sustained positive effort is often lacking. Case activity is high with this multi-need group, and crisis situations can be frequent.

In an institution setting, the CC group frequently encounters interpersonal problems with peers and staff alike. Authority problems and generally negative responses to others will often result in institution misconduct. As with the criminal behavior of this group, prison misconduct may range from the trivial to the serious, and is often the result of chemical, emotional, or interpersonal problems. During periods of stress, self-mutilation or suicide attempts may occur.

Programming for the CC inmate should include long-term treatment to resolve the chemical, emotional, or interpersonal problems that often block successful adjustment. Staff should be realistic in attempts to work with the CC inmate and should resist the temptation to resolve all of the problems presented. CC clients are often adept at blaming others and will attempt to rely on the efforts of others rather than their own.

Environmental Structure

The Environmental Structure (ES) treatment group is characterized by a lack of social and vocational skills. These individuals are often easily led and frequently encounter criminal difficulties through association with more criminally oriented and sophisticated peers. Intellectual deficits can be found in this group and may contribute to the general lack of social, vocational, and survival skills. Involvement in crime is generally impulsive and unsophisticated, and frequently motivated by a desire to be accepted by others. Although their behavior can be dangerous and assaultive, their motivation is seldom malicious.

Supervision for the ES group should include the development of survival skills, improved social skills, and increased impulse control. The dependency noted in this treatment group can be used to the advantage of correctional workers during

TABLE 1
Results of Milwaukee Intensive Supervision/CMC Study

Outcome Measure	Regular Supervision (N=147)	Intensive Supervision (N=123)	Intensive Supervision w/CMC (N=152)
Revoked	29.9%	24.4%	19.7%
Employed full time at termination	42.4%	48.8%	52.2%
Income over $400/mo. at termination	43.6%	46.4%	55.2%

Differences between Regular Supervision and Intensive/CMC Supervision are significant at the .05 level.

the course of probation or parole supervision. ES offenders are often eager to please and frequently will respond to supportive and non-threatening guidance.

The characteristic skill deficits evident in the ES offender are also seen in the institution setting, as is the tendency to be led by others. ES inmates respond well to praise and often will work hard in order to maintain a sense of accomplishment, but they are usually unable to generalize from one situation to another. As in field supervision, ES inmates will often form attachments to staff members who are accepting and supportive. This dependency can be used positively and can be helpful in limiting the influence that sophisticated and exploitive peers have on the ES inmate.

Security problems within the ES group are generally related to their impulsiveness and their exploitation by others. The ES inmate is generally not an insightful individual and may have difficulty approaching staff with specific problems. These inmates are seldom adept at dealing directly or constructively with interpersonal conflicts. Misconduct under such circumstances can be seen as a means to avoid such confrontations.

In the housing unit, ES inmates are susceptible to manipulation and exploitation by others. They are often motivated by a desire to be accepted and have difficulty differentiating between positive and negative influences. Given the likelihood of intellectual as well as skill deficits, the ES inmate frequently has difficulty being accepted as an equal in the housing unit. They are often perceived as slow, odd, and unsophisticated. They may experience isolation, except when they are used and manipulated by others. Where possible, these inmates should be placed under the influence of staff and of positive and supportive peers.

Because the ES offender is likely to lack insight, counseling and therapy must avoid abstraction and generalization. The development of social skills should be stressed, as well as assertiveness and the constructive use of leisure time. Appropriate intellectual and vocational testing is essential so that unrealistic goals are not developed. Basic education or remedial education is often necessary with this group, and in many cases, planning should aim toward sheltered work situations.

Limit Setting

The Limit Setting (LS) group is best characterized by a criminal orientation and a general lack of commitment to pro-social values. These individuals often appear motivated toward success in crime and have little interest in applying their skills or talents to socially acceptable endeavors. Criminal behavior within this group is generally motivated by money, excitement, and power. Criminal histories are often lengthy and marked by numerous felonies and violent or aggressive offenses. LS offenders are often well-known to the criminal justice system and experience a fair amount of comfort in correctional institutions.

Planning for the LS offender must recognize the potential for danger to the public, manifested in high stakes property offenses and violence. Public protection and officer safety are important concerns in field supervision. Treatment is generally rejected by the offender except as a means to avoid more restrictive sanctions. Supervision must focus responsibility on the offender and must provide control and surveillance when appropriate. Limits and consequences for misbehavior must be detailed in advance and all rules enforced consistently. Where possible, attempts should be made to foster an interest in legal means to meet financial, power, and excitement needs.

LS offenders may adapt well to institutions because of previous involvement with the criminal justice system and a well-developed ability to manipulate a familiar environment. These inmates may dominate the more desirable jobs and/or program placements. Program achievement, however, may not be indicative of real change in attitude or orientation. The LS inmate will often emerge in a leadership role within the inmate power structure, so impressionable or vulnerable inmates (such as ES inmates) should be protected from this group.

Release planning for the LS group should stress accountability and legitimate means of support. LS offenders often have sound social skills and the ability to locate residence and employment. Assistance should be offered, however, because a return to former surroundings and its set of values may make re-adjustment difficult, even for the well-intentioned offender.

CMC EVALUATION STUDIES

Since CMC's implementation, three jurisdictions have independently evaluated the system's effectiveness, using both experimental and quasi-experimental designs.

The first of these studies was done in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, comparing differences in three outcome measures (probation revocations, full-time employment, and income) between high-risk probation offenders randomly assigned to:

- regular supervision;
- intensive supervision only; or
- intensive supervision with CMC.

The intensive supervision only condition required increased staffing and client contact over regular supervision. The difference between intensive supervision and intensive supervision with CMC was the utilization of the CMC initial assessment and case planning procedures. As shown in Table 1, the CMC group performed better than either the regular supervision or intensive supervision groups on all three outcome measures. Differences were most significant between regular supervision and CMC.

TABLE 2

Texas Board of Pardon and Parole
CMC and Release Outcome

Percent Pre-Revocation: 6 Months

Case Type	Poor Risk	Fair Risk	Good Risk	Total
CMC	15% (36/235)*	11% (64/608)**	6% (19/333)	10% (119/1176)**
No CMC	23% (68/296)	17% (129/740)	7% (24/339)	16% (221/1375)
TOTAL	**20% (104/531)**	**14% (193/1348)**	**6% (38/672)**	**13% (335/2551)**

Percent Pre-Revocation: 1 Year

Case Type	Poor Risk	Fair Risk	Good Risk	Total
CMC	24% (58/235)*	17 % (103/608)**	13% (42/333)	17% (203/1176)**
No CMC	32% (95/296)	26% (187/740)	13% (45/339)	25% (327/1375)
TOTAL	**28% (153/531)**	**22% (290/1348)**	**13% (87/672)**	**21% (530/2551)**

* *Significant at .05 level*
** *Significant at .01 level*

The Texas Board of Pardon and Paroles approached their evaluation in a slightly different manner. During March and April 1985, approximately 200 officers were trained and using CMC while another 200 officers had not received the training. Although officers were not randomly selected, trained officers were similar in all respects (i.e., experience, demographics, etc.) to untrained officers. During March and April, roughly half of the offenders released from prison were assigned to CMC-trained officers and went through the process while half did not. A sample was drawn from all cases released from prison from March through April 1985. The sample consisted of 2,551 cases, with 46 percent of the sample classified by CMC and 54 percent non-CMC cases.

An examination of the relationship of CMC to outcome was completed at 6 and 12 month intervals of release experience. The cases were grouped as poor, fair, and good risks using the salient factor scale as a control. The salient factor scale, which is also used by the U.S. Parole Commission, has been repeatedly validated on the Texas parole population as a reliable predictor of parole outcome. A single outcome measure, pre-revocation warrants issued, was used instead of actual rate of return to prison because of the small number of cases actually returned during the short follow-up period. Pre-revocation warrants are issued for serious parole rule violations such as new law violations and serious technical violations. Table 2 presents the results. The CMC cases reported lower pre-revocation rates at both the six month (10 percent vs. 16 percent) and 12 month (17 percent vs. 25 percent) follow-up period. CMC also was most affective with the more difficult and higher risk subjects.

The third CMC study occurred in South Carolina during 1985 and 1986. Two groups of offenders (219 CMC cases and 200 non-CMC cases) were followed for a minimum of one year. The groups were matched on the basis of offense, risk score, and level of supervision, with the major difference between them being the use of CMC with one of the groups. To be included as a CMC experimental, records had to indicate that CMC interviews were conducted; classifications established; and, most importantly, CMC-based case plans were developed and implemented.

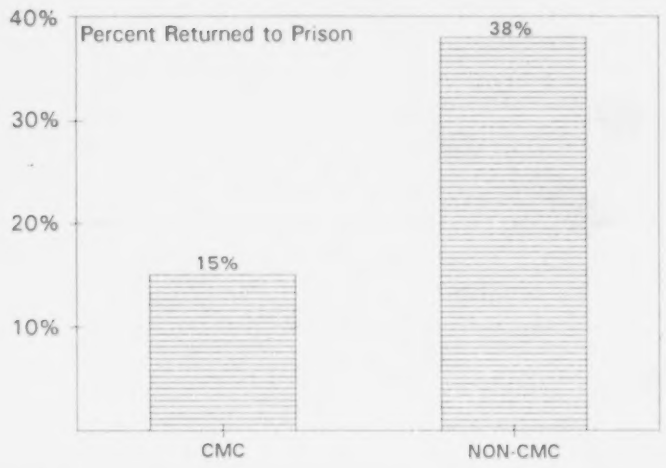
This study produced the most favorable results reported to date, as shown in Figure 2. Some of the difference may be due to selection bias (staff using the CMC system as instructed by agency policy may have been the most conscientious and effective officers). Nevertheless, the results are indeed impressive.

These evaluations of CMC consistently indicate that use of CMC leads to significantly improved outcomes in field supervision cases. The implication for these findings is apparent. For example, if an agency were able to achieve results like those reported in South Carolina (a 23 percent decrease in the return-to-prison rate) it could have an obvious positive fiscal impact. This level of success is especially relevant, given that many states are reporting dramatic increases in the numbers of offenders admitted to prison as either a parole or probation violator.

PRISONER MANAGEMENT CLASSIFICATION (PMC)

The Prisoner Management Classification (PMC) system was adapted from the CMC system developed for probation and parole. PMC is designed to provide

FIGURE 2
South Carolina Return-to-Prison Rates
12 Month Follow-up



prison staff with a mechanism to quickly identify potential predators and victims as well as inmates requiring special programming or supervision.

PMC was designed to produce the following interventions:

- Separate housing of inmates according to their PMC classification;
- Specialized supervision in each PMC-designed housing unit using PMC inmate management guidelines; and
- Utilization of PMC to determine appropriate placement in counseling and other institutional programs.

A rigorous experimental field test of the PMC system was conducted by NCCD in the State of Washington, with funding from the National Institute of Justice. In the NCCD study, inmates assigned to medium custody levels at intake were randomly assigned to either Clallam Bay Correction Center which used the PMC system (experimental group) or other prisons using traditional classification systems (control group). The purpose of the study was to measure the effectiveness of PMC in improving the overall operations of a prison and in reducing the risk of safety for staff and inmates.

At Clallam Bay, inmates were housed in a PMC-appropriate unit (CC, ES/SI, or LS) or in a general population unit until space became available in the PMC-appropriate unit. In addition to housing decisions, the PMC case handling guide was to be used by staff to aid in preparing written case plans and in making the most appropriate programming decisions.

A process evaluation showed that 84 percent of the Clallam Bay prison staff believed that inmate behaviors were similar to the description of their PMC type and 75 percent believed that PMC was better than previous methods for supervising inmates. Staff reported that each of the PMC housing units took on distinct "personalities" consistent with the PMC descriptions. They also reported success in using different styles of interacting with inmates in each unit based on PMC guidelines.

While Clallam Bay successfully used PMC for housing assignments and unit supervision, its use for programming and case planning was more problematic, primarily because educational and industries programs were not fully developed at the new facility. Consequently, the evaluation really consisted of a test of the effectiveness of a separate housing situation according to CMC typologies.

The impact evaluation looked at differential rates of misconduct for the experimental and control groups. As shown in Table 3, the PMC inmates performed better than the control group on both measures of major and serious major infractions over a six-month period.

The experimental study (Table 3) showed that separation of the SI/ES inmates from the CC/LS inmates and differential supervision by PMC types resulted in less major misconduct and increased staff and inmate safety.

A RECENT INNOVATION - A CMC SYSTEM FOR JUVENILES

CMC was specifically designed for work with adult offenders. As the system was introduced in agencies across the country, a great deal of interest was expressed in a similar system for use with juvenile offenders. As a result of that interest, the developers of CMC, in collaboration with other juvenile specialists, set about to create such a system. In 1988, Strategies for Juvenile Supervision (SJS) was implemented in Colorado and has since been adopted in a number of other juvenile agencies. SJS retains all the positive features of CMC with the added advantage of a single interview adapted for juveniles in institutions or in the field. In addition, a carbon-thru process allows for increased efficiency in the mechanics of scoring the interview. (This carbon-thru process is currently being adapted to the adult system to provide the same benefits in the mechanics of scoring.)

Because SJS is a recently implemented process, no follow-up studies of effectiveness have been published. However, juvenile officers who use the system were polled six months after training to obtain their evaluation of the system. Of the 107 officers who responded:

- 67 percent found SJS "very helpful" as a tool for working with juveniles and 32 percent found it "helpful."
- 94 percent reported it had improved their understanding of juveniles and 92 percent stated it had improved their ability to anticipate problems.
- 55 percent rated SJS as an "excellent" initial interview, 31 percent as "good,"

12 percent as "fair," and only 2 percent as "poor."

- 87 percent recommended SJS for all juvenile workers, 10 percent for inexperienced workers, and 3 percent did not recommend it.

While these results are in no sense definitive, they suggest that SJS may be a positive development in the supervision of juvenile offenders.

CONCLUSION

Three separate evaluations of the CMC system all indicate that its use can significantly improve the effectiveness of community supervision in the adult system. Its adaptation for use in adult prisons and other residential programs is also quite promising. A rigorous experimental study of the PMC implemented for the Washington Department of Corrections found that PMC reduced levels of violence at the test prison. Perhaps most promising is the development of a similar process (SJS) for use with juvenile offenders. Juvenile caseloads, in many instances, remain well below those of adult systems, creating an atmosphere more conducive to comprehensive case planning and treatment. While no evaluations of effectiveness have been conducted in the juvenile arena, the system has been enthusiastically embraced by staff.

It would be inappropriate to conclude an overview of this system without addressing the most commonly-voiced criticism; CMC takes too long to administer. On average, it takes an hour to do the CMC interview, and an additional half hour to score and develop an initial case plan. It is recommended that this take place early in the supervision process. For some agencies, this one-time investment of 90 minutes appears to be a major expenditure of time. And, indeed, it could be an inappropriate expenditure for offenders who will receive limited supervision (e.g., minimum, write-in supervision, etc.). However, the results reported above would indicate that with high risk offenders, it could be an investment which yields high dividends.

A second complaint involves the training necessary to implement the system successfully. The most effective training method requires a 40-hour block involving a combination of classroom discussion and field practice. In order to minimize the need to use consultant trainers, larger agencies have participated in an additional 40-hour program which prepares their staff to train others in the system. Various alternatives to shorten the training time have been tried and found inadequate. This is a reasonably comprehensive system for dealing with offenders, and the shaping of skills necessary to use it properly requires time commensurate with its value. Ultimately, individual jurisdictions must evaluate results such as those outlined above, assess their relevance to local reality, and determine whether the investment is warranted. As probation, parole, and institutional populations increase in size and complexity, the positive results reported in independent studies of CMC cannot be ignored.

TABLE 3

Washington State
Six-Month Infraction Rates

Infractions	PMC (N=243)		No PMC (N=245)			
	%	Mean	%	Mean	chi	t-test
Major	38.7	0.89	43.8	0.98	p=0.24	p=0.003
Serious Major*	7.6	0.08	12.4	0.14	p=0.07	p=0.001

*Serious major infractions include:

- assault resulting in hospitalization;
- possession of weapons;
- possession of narcotics, intoxicants, or paraphernalia;
- possession of staff clothing;
- rioting; and
- inciting a riot.

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